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ABSTRACT

To act effectively in the world, it is first necessary to know who we are and who the Soviet Union is and what they are likely to do. The United States is the inheritor and the embodiment of a long struggle against arbitrary power. This country is the heir of the liberal, democratic tradition, whose roots are freedom. Facing the nature of the Soviet government on the other hand is an extremely unpleasant task. The Soviet Union has established the only empire existing in today's world, an empire that extends to all continents, an empire that from the very beginning has grown by the artful manipulation of symbols and the uninhibited and skillful use of violence. The political and social events that occur in every country that experience a Communist government are matters of hard fact. If the results are clear, so are the tactics. The empire grows as the Soviet Union brings resources and personnel drawn from all over the Soviet bloc to bear on small, helpless countries. The United States meanwhile is more inventive in finding reasons why it should not help peoples resist incorporation into the Soviet empire than in finding ways to help them resist. Still, the hunger for freedom, self-expression, and self-determination is indeed an enduring reality of peoples throughout the world. (BZ)

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We and They

Understanding Ourselves and Our Adversary

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

SO 017 876

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This is one of a series of essays and reprints published by the Ethics and Public Policy Center to make available to a wider audience thoughtful perspectives on issues of domestic and foreign policy. Like original Center studies, the essays are written by authors who recognize the validity of fundamental Western values and attempt to combine moral reasoning with empirical analysis. The authors alone are responsible for the views expressed.

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Foreword

JEANE KIRKPATRICK IS UNIQUE in contemporary American politics and foreign policy. Not because she is a scholar—other scholars have held major policy positions under previous presidents. Not because she is a patriot—each person who serves in a high government office claims that quality. Ambassador Kirkpatrick is unique because her intellectual gifts and love of country are combined with an unusual degree of courage and candor. This rare combination makes her eager to speak up for her country, and strikingly effective in doing so.

Ambassador Kirkpatrick, U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, was the first recipient of the Shelby Cullom Davis Award for integrity and courage in public service, presented by the Ethics and Public Policy Center in September 1982. The award citation called her "a realist without cynicism, an idealist without illusion," one who has been "steadfast in the pursuit of the attainable good."

In October 1983 the Polish patriot Lech Walesa became the second recipient of the Davis Award, and Ambassador Kirkpatrick gave the principal address at the Salute to Lech Walesa award dinner in New York. The essay that follows was adapted from that speech. In it she addresses the central political problem of our time, the protracted struggle between totalitarian and democratic societies. Her analysis of the salient differences between the United States and the Soviet Union penetrates the confusion, self-doubt, and self-deception of Western intellectuals who refuse to recognize those differences. As an "idealist without illusion" she makes the crucial moral distinction between a less than perfect democratic society that champions

freedom in the world, and a totalitarian state that enslaves its own people and vigorously seeks to impose its brutal tyranny upon other peoples.

Other contributions to the Walesa salute appear in *A Tribute to Lech Walesa*. Among the authors of statements in this collection are President Reagan, Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Ambassador Max Kampelman, Mayor Edward Koch of New York, and Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey. There is also a message from Walesa.

Ambassador Kirkpatrick was appointed to her current post by President Reagan in January 1981. She previously was a professor at Georgetown University and a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. Her most recent books are *Dictatorships and Double Standards—Rationalism and Reason in Politics*, and *The Reagan Phenomenon—And Other Speeches on Foreign Policy*, each of which includes an essay originally written for the Center.

This essay, *We and They*, is published with the hope that it will stimulate reflection on who *we* are and who *they* are, thus enabling us better to serve the cause of ordered freedom and human rights.

ERNEST W. LEFEVER, *President*
Ethics and Public Policy Center

Washington, D.C.
December 1983

We and They

JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK

TO ACT IN THE WORLD, if we will act effectively, it is first necessary to know who we are and who "they" are and what they are likely to do. Only then will we know what *we* should do. We must have the skill and the will to *share* that knowledge, using it to build the broad support that is the *sine qua non* of action in a democratic society. And we must have the courage and the political will to *act* upon that knowledge.

First we must know who *we* are. We can agree that we are the inheritors and the embodiment, the twentieth-century American version, of a long struggle against arbitrary power. This struggle has characterized our tradition, the Western tradition, since long before that reluctant King John was persuaded to sign the Magna Carta in the early thirteenth century.

We are the heirs and the bearers of a tradition that was shaped by the persistent efforts of Englishmen to limit the power and the jurisdiction of their kings.

We are the heirs of a tradition that makes government dependent on the consent of the governed, if that government is just; a tradition acknowledging that people have natural rights, and that the central purpose of government is the protection of those rights; a tradition of representation that insists each person is best entitled to speak for himself about how laws affect him, about how government organizes itself and governs.

We are the heirs, in short, of the liberal, democratic tradition, whose root is freedom. Freedom and democracy are not the only political values, any more than freedom is the only personal value. We all need community, food, shelter, human solidarity, common

purpose, work under decent conditions, the basics of security and understanding.

But freedom is the prerequisite and the core in the pursuit of most of these personal and social goods, and I believe that American identity lies precisely in this tradition. The United States is the bearer of that tradition. Our identity is inextricably bound to it today. This is the reason that the American national interest is morally worthy of serving as the guiding purpose of our foreign policy. Defense of the American national interest is good in itself and good also because America's strength is central to the defense of the civilization of which we are but one crucial expression in the contemporary world.

That civilization is, of course, Judeo-Christian, and is founded on the irreducible value of the individual. From this proposition flow many other imperatives.

What is called "Western civilization" embraces many persons who cannot reasonably be described as a part of the West. Western civilization embodies an approach to life, society, and government, an approach found in the east as well as the west, in the south as well as the north, longed for in Lebanon and Afghanistan as well as here.

Identifying with the American tradition and respecting it, identifying with the civilization of which we are a part and respecting it, understanding the unique role of American strength in that civilization and the importance of our strength to that civilization, imposes on us all, I believe, some permissions, some prohibitions, and some encouragements.

It enables us to understand that it is morally legitimate to be concerned about the strength of the United States; that it is a moral imperative to interpret substantive threats to our national interest and security as threats to our shared civilization and our most fundamental values.

Recognizing our national security as a legitimate, core concern of our foreign policy has many consequences. It makes clear, for example, why strong relations with our allies are important; why these ties should be nurtured, and never neglected. And it makes clear why we have an identity distinct from our allies—an identity that is also worthy of respect.

Our national identity gives us a basis not only for identification with our formal allies—with NATO and Western Europe—but also for identification with Africa, because one-ninth of Americans have

their roots there, and we share a culture and aspirations with that continent. It also gives us a basis for identification with the other Americas, with which we share distinctive experiences of discovery, exploration, colonization, the search for independence.

Our national identity and our importance to the defense of Western civilization make clear that it is both legitimate and important for us to be concerned about events in many places, remote as well as near. They give us a special stake in the clarity and confusion that surround our greatest adversary, the Soviet Union, and the tactics by which it operates in the contemporary world.

Soviet Foreign Policy

Facing who "they" are—facing the nature of the Soviet government, its relations with the states to which it is most closely allied and with the states outside its bloc--is an extremely unpleasant task.

It is as unpleasant as it is important to remember that the Soviet Union has established a vast empire—the only empire in today's world—that extends to all continents, an empire that from the very beginning has grown by the artful manipulation of symbols and the uninhibited and skillful use of violence.

That curious statement issued in October 1983 in the name of Chairman Andropov established once again that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is today aggressive as well as expansionist—and quite self-consciously so.

The reminder was not really necessary. We had already heard Andropov's threat of reprisal when Western Europe refused to accept as a permanent condition the vulnerabilities imposed by the Soviet decision to deploy SS-20s in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. That was a unilateral Soviet decision, taken neither in consultation with the United States in sessions on arms control, nor in consultation with the countries of Western Europe that are targeted, nor, one supposes, in consultation with the countries of Eastern Europe in which missiles may be based.

We had already heard Andropov's extraordinary threats against the West German electorate. We had heard recent Soviet menaces concerning Central America. We had had the opportunity to watch the bloody coup in Surinam that, under Cuban direction, wiped out a whole political class in that small but strategically located country. More recently, we had had the opportunity to watch an equally bloody coup in Grenada, where, as in

Afghanistan a few years ago, a government that shared the ideology of the Soviet Union and was linked to it by ties of loyalty proved not quite reliably slavish enough, and was wiped out.

The growth of Soviet military-political-strategic power has accelerated as it has progressed, mocking the expectations of those who explain away unseemly Soviet appetites as a result of their "understandable" insecurity. The comfortable and comforting view that the Soviets' preoccupation with armaments would diminish if only they achieved military parity has been overtaken and overwhelmed by their accelerating military buildup, as surely as some earlier expectations fashionable about the Russia of the twenties, the Cuba of the sixties, the Viet Nam of the seventies, or the Nicaragua of the eighties were overtaken and overwhelmed by experience.

Those earlier expectations featured the belief that basic human freedoms of speech, press, and assembly, the rule of law, would be restored by these so-called revolutionists just as soon as the monopoly of power of the relevant bourgeoisie had been smashed. As the longed for restoration of freedom has failed to occur in any country that saw the "bourgeoisie" displaced by Leninists, it has become clear that new explanations are required.

The expansion of the power of the political elite that operates in the name of Marxism-Leninism has surely been the most dramatic political fact of the post-World War II period. The Baltic states in Eastern Europe conquered and incorporated in the shadow of the Red army in the forties and fifties were digested by the Soviets with very little difficulty—apparently, in a process that was almost risk-free for them. The fascinating articles on Yalta published in *Encounter* magazine* remind us all that it was Soviet military superiority, even more than those unfortunate agreements at Yalta, that was responsible for the fate of Eastern Europe. (They remind us, too, that not much Western political will—or skill—was invested in the tragic negotiations that led to those agreements.)

The process of Soviet expansion in subsequent decades has been characterized by progressively sophisticated tactics that have also entailed few risks and high potential profits for them, and very great difficulty for the United States, the West, and above all the unfortunate people enslaved. The use of surrogates, the strategy of subversion, terrorism, guerrilla war, the use of foreign experts in technology and violence—all this has

*Michael Charlton, "The Yalta Connection," *Encounter*, June, July-August, September-October, 1983.

proved extraordinarily successful for the Soviet Union, tragic for the targeted people, and dangerous to us. It is all the more dangerous since the expansion of Soviet military power has been accompanied by a debilitating incapacity on our part to understand the tactics of Soviet expansion and their moral and geopolitical consequences.

It is not difficult to understand the Soviet advance in the world in the abstract. That advance is based on cynical manipulation of the symbols of liberation, nationalism, and socialism. But the strategy of domination that they employ derives from a very different tradition. It derives from a tradition of oriental despotism, from a czarist synthesis of economic, social, and bureaucratic state power. The symbols manipulated by the Soviet Union speak of liberation—but the foundation and the consequence is tyranny.

One basic fact, hardest of all to remember, is that though Marxism itself had some roots in the European liberal socialist tradition, Marxism-Leninism and Soviet state power and the political organization ruled in their name are to the liberal-democratic tradition as antithesis is to thesis. Marxism-Leninism does not incorporate either the theory or the practice of liberalism, democracy, nationalism, or socialism; indeed, it denies all the essential elements of Western liberal-democratic, democratic-socialist, tradition.

It sees classes, not individuals, as the motor and creative principle of history; it postulates, advocates, justifies the practice of violence as the method of historical change; it spawns governments based on one-party dictatorships and never on the consent of the governed; it strictly subordinates nations and nationalism to supernational imperialism; and it grows by violence, deception, and subjugation.

There is no room today for reasonable people to misunderstand the Soviet record. The political and social events that occur in every country that has the misfortune to experience a Communist government are matters of hard fact, readily visible to all. In not one country where Marxist-Leninists have come to power have citizens been permitted free elections, a free press, free trade unions, free speech, freedom to emigrate, or any other institution-building associated with the political traditions of liberalism, democracy, democratic socialism—not one.

If the results are clear, so are the tactics. Not only do the Soviet leaders appeal to our values and cloak their aggressions in the symbols of liberation; they also attempt to paralyze us by creating situations in which respect for one of our basic values—say, nonintervention in the internal af-

fairs of others—seems to require that we stand by passively while another small, relatively helpless people succumbs to Marxist-Leninist tyranny and is ruthlessly incorporated into the Soviet empire.

The Pattern of Soviet Aggression

That empire grows as Communists bring resources and personnel drawn from all over the Soviet bloc to bear on these small, helpless countries, on their indigenous political rivalries—particularly those of Third World countries. Thus the Cuban role in Nicaragua's and El Salvador's wars of "national liberation," Libya's role in Chad, the Syrian role in Lebanon. Since the governments of the Third World countries are often rather weak, and the resources available to them severely limited, they are exceedingly vulnerable to destabilization by the Soviet Union and its surrogates.

This pattern is now discouragingly familiar: choose a weak government, organize a national liberation front, add a terrorist campaign to disrupt order and provoke repression, weaken an already weak economy, and then intensify the violence. The brittle institutions of many—perhaps even most—Third World governments are likely to crumble under such strains.

The skillful use of what used to be called "fifth columns" enables Soviet agents to foment coups and civil wars under the guise of indigenous politics. Then we in the West—we Americans, specifically—find it terribly difficult to justify intervening in what are called "indigenous struggles."

That's not all. Once a transfer of power has been achieved and a dictatorship friendly to the Soviet Union has been established, the Soviets seek to guarantee its irreversibility by providing thousands of technicians, advisors, and troops to prop up and guide the new government. Hence the extraordinary array of Soviet-bloc military and civilian personnel in Nicaragua, Angola, Benin, Ghana, Congo, Mozambique, Guinea, Cuba, South Yemen, Syria, Ethiopia. In those countries one finds extraordinary international brigades accumulated from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Viet Nam, the PLO, Libya—from all parts of the worldwide Soviet empire—brought to bear on weak institutions, weak peoples who almost invariably desire, above all, to be left alone to solve their own problems, to realize and enjoy their own national heritage.

Soviet leaders do not rely on the laws of history or the appeals of Communism to bring about what they call revolution or to insure what they

call its irreversibility. Their clients can count on reliable supplies of arms and men.

We in the United States meanwhile are more inventive in finding reasons why we should *not* help peoples resist incorporation into the Soviet empire than in finding ways to help them resist. We worry a lot about intervening in the internal affairs of other nations. We worry a lot about being bogged down in quagmires. We worry a lot about propping up dictatorships.

Sometimes—and this is more common in Western Europe than in the United States—we take a long view, and comfort ourselves with assurances that after all, given enough time and disastrous enough experience with the Soviet bloc, this or that Third World people will manage to break away.

We simply have not been able—or willing—to face either the character or the scope of the challenge posed by this skillful blending of indigenous and international politics.

Freedom: An Immutable Goal

Still, all is not lost, and all is not dismal. The hunger for freedom, self-expression, and self-determination is indeed an enduring reality of peoples throughout the world.

The capacity of tyrannies, even in their most modern, sophisticated, and repressive versions, to repress peoples is limited. The awful pitfall of coercing obedience is that the coercer can never tell what the coerced will do—if the coercion is not quite strong enough finally to silence them.

The current Polish dissent against Soviet rule is only a recent proof in a long line of evidence of the long-range unreliability of the subjugation of the peoples of Eastern Europe. The Hungarian struggle for freedom, the Czechoslovakian search for a new deal, Solidarity in Poland—these show very clearly not only that a desire for something other than a Communist regime is alive and powerful in these Eastern European societies, even after decades of tyranny, but also that the people are uncowed, clear-headed, and dedicated to freedom in ways that should shame us fortunate enough to live in free societies.

I should like to quote a Polish freedom-fighter, Adam Michnik. In a very moving essay that he wrote more than two years ago, Michnik pointed out that there were two different models for the repression of crises such as the Polish. One of those models was connected with Hungary and János Kádár, the other with Czechoslovakia and Gustav Husak.

"Hungary's General Kádár," said Michnik, "began to exercise power in 1956 as a Soviet setup based on Soviet tanks. The first few years of his government were characterized by a policy of cruel repression, followed by a slow loosening of the screw directed gradually from above.

"From the beginning, Czechoslovakia's Gustav Husak declared his intention to continue the 'Prague Spring.' Following the Soviet intervention, all institutions of public life founded earlier continued to work initially.

"Then the liquidation process advanced very slowly. The people were forced to criticize themselves in a humiliating way, to denounce their colleagues; extremist elements were eliminated; and independent institutions were liquidated—all under the pretext that at least some of the reform must be saved. Thus, the Prague spring was murdered at the hands of its creators.

"The Kádár model is the road from a socially destructive act of repression to the policy of paternalistic liberalism. The Husak model, in contrast, leads from a fictitious continuation of democratic structures to a total sterilization of public life. For Polish Communists, Kádár is a positive hero whose course they would like to repeat. Court decisions are accompanied by declarations and the continuation of renewal and reforms.

"The scenario of actions is easy to interpret: Solidarity is to be destroyed, the totalitarian institutions are to be made operational again, and hopes for a worthy life are to be eliminated from the minds of the people. This is their plan. Solidarity is to be destroyed with the hands of its former officials, who, broken and humiliated, have signed statements of loyalty.

"The Military Council representatives have tried to have Lech Walesa accept these plans. They were unsuccessful."

It is a very great privilege to be free to celebrate who Lech Walesa is—a man who has refused to be confused about freedom and tyranny, who has refused to bow, a man who is a model for us all.

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An exile who spent twelve years in Soviet prisons, work camps, and psychiatric hospitals vividly portrays the impact of a totalitarian system on human dignity and self-respect.

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Fred Charles Iklé, with a response by Radomir Bogdanov and Lev Semeiko
A former top SALT negotiator says American weakness, bordering on inferiority, encourages Soviet expansion. Two Soviet officials dispute his claims.

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Jeane Kirkpatrick
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Two professors and a former diplomat analyze Taiwan's past, present, and future prospects.

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Church activists, working through the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, are leading a campaign to curb the power of multinational corporations. A major objective is to control the sale of infant formula in the Third World; their major tactic is to boycott Nestlé products.

25. **America the Enemy: Profile of a Revolutionary Think Tank,** *Rael Jean Isaac*
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27. **Washington vs. the Universities,** *Daniel Patrick Moynihan*
The senator asserts that the government has the power "to shut down any university" in America by withholding funds if it fails to comply with regulations tied to federal grants.

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A law professor says that in applying the First Amendment the Supreme Court tends to define religion broadly in relation to the "free exercise" provision and narrowly for "non-establishment."

31. **Sanctifying Revolution: Mainline Churchmen Turn Radical**
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A nuclear physicist (and Episcopal priest), a professor of Christian ethics, and an editor of *America* reflect on the moral and theological implications of nuclear energy.

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A veteran Asia correspondent says the Viet Nam war was lost not on the battlefield but in the minds of Western liberals whose views dominated the prestige press in the United States.

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Latin American poverty is caused not by North American wealth or multinational corporations but by domestic social and cultural forces rooted in the political and economic institutions and world view of the Spanish conquerors.

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From interviews with 240 journalists and broadcasters the authors conclude that the views of the media elite on major social, economic, and political questions are substantially to the left of those of middle America.

39. Risk and Nuclear Power: Scientists, Journalists, and the Public
S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman
A careful survey of nuclear specialists and other scientists shows that those who know most about nuclear power are its strongest supporters.

40. Nuclear Weapons and the Peace Movement, *Henry A. Kissinger*
Combining a firm grasp of political realities with the wisdom of experience, the former secretary of state examines all major facets of the nuclear arms debate.

41. Private Virtues, Public Vices, *Jeane J. Kirkpatrick*
The U.S. representative to the United Nations distinguishes between private and public morality and argues that compromise and consensus-building are essential and desirable in the American political system.

42. Constitutional Democracy vs. Utopian Democracy, *Raymond English*
Constitutional democracy, based on a realistic view of human nature and on moral discipline, endures; utopian democracy, based on sentimental illusions, is ephemeral and often leads to tyranny.

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In tracing the relations between crime and civic virtue in America over the past century, a distinguished Harvard professor affirms that the family, church, and school can play a significant role in reducing criminal behavior.

44. Moscow and the European Peace Movement, *J. A. Emerson Vermaat*
The peace movements of several Western European nations draw significant support from Moscow. Their activities have the effect of weakening Western military commitment relative to that of the Soviet Union, thus making nuclear war more likely.

45. Revolution, Terrorism, and U.S. Policy, *Ernest W. Lefever*
Terrorism, increasingly used by leftist revolutionaries who seek power by the bullet rather than by the ballot, is a serious threat to democratic government and to the U.S. interest in stability and peaceful development.

46. Reducing Risk by Restoring Strength: Reflections on Nuclear War
W. Scott Thompson
The risk of nuclear war decreases when U.S. and Soviet forces are approximately equal and when we have confidence in the quality of our deterrent, says the author. He deals also with the morality of self-defense, the myth of overkill, and the pacifist temptation.

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Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
Many U.N. representatives and staff members view its institutions as instruments to achieve the "new international economic order" by regulation, redistribution, and socialization of the world's wealth.

48. Who Speaks for American Judaism? Competing Approaches to Public Issues $2
Seymour Siegel, Marshall J. Breger, Joshua O. Haberman, and David Saperstein
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